

ANCIENT EGYPT

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PART II.

CONTENTS.



1. COSTUME OF EARLY KINGS.
M. A. MURRAY.
2. ORIGIN OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.
FLINDERS PETRIE.
3. WOMEN'S TITLES. EDITH M. GUEST.
4. RELATIONS OF EGYPT TO ISRAEL.
HAROLD M. WIENER.
5. JOURNALS:
ANNALES DU SERVICE.
REVUE DE L'ÉGYPTE ANCIENNE, ETC.
6. REVIEWS.
7. NOTES AND NEWS.

EDITOR, PROF. SIR FLINDERS PETRIE, F.R.S., F.B.A.

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ANCIENT EGYPT.

THE COSTUME OF THE EARLY KINGS.

THE earliest examples of the royal costume are on the great slate palette of Narmer and the three mace-heads of Hierakonpolis. The slate palette is the most important as giving the most detail. On the obverse the King (Fig. 1) is standing with uplifted arm about to slay an enemy, whom he holds by the hair, by a blow from a stone-headed mace. On the reverse the King (Fig. 2) is walking towards a scene of human sacrifice, carrying the mace in his left hand and a flail in his right hand. In each case he is followed by the  (Fig. 3) "servant of the King (?)" bearing the royal sandals (Fig. 4).

The tunic.—The King wears a kind of tunic which covers the body from below the breast to about half-way down the thigh and is held in place by a belt round the waist. One end of the cloth is carried over the left shoulder from the back, and is fastened to the other end on the left breast with what appears to be a metal fastener; on the left side the cloth is cut square in order to leave the arm free play. There is nothing to indicate the material of the tunic; it was probably of linen. The square cut under the arm suggests that the garment was sewn; in this it differs from the garment of the Scorpion King (Fig. 5), which might well be simply a length of cloth belted round the waist and the two ends fastened over the left breast.

The belt.—The belt is highly ornamental; it may be of metal, embossed leather, or beadwork. The raised bands on each side suggest metal, but the pattern is not unlike the quilted robe of the ivory king (Ab. II, Pl. XIII); it may therefore be of patterned leather. The suggestion that it is made of beads is also worth considering, for the design is of crossing diagonal lines with a dot in the middle of each diamond, a pattern which could be well and effectively worked out in beads. At the back, apparently fixed to the belt, though there is no visible means of attachment, is an animal's tail with long rippled hair. The length of the tail is probably exaggerated, for in the buffalo (Fig. 6) in the lowest scene of the reverse the same kind of tail is seen. It is clearly not a fox tail with which the men on the Hunters' Palette (Fig. 7) are adorned and which the pig-tailed man on the largest of the mace-heads (*Hierakonpolis*, Pl. XXVIA) is bringing as tribute. The importance of the bull's tail in the ritual costume of the king has always been noted, as well as the fact that it is also part of the costume of the gods in the New Kingdom and later, but the actual significance of it is not understood.

Prof. Petrie has pointed out (ANCIENT EGYPT, 1925, pp. 65, 66) that the bull's tail was considered a promoter of fertility, and R. E. Dennett (*At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 156) says that "the tail of the ox is the sign of office of all the Kongosovo among the Bavili." But neither of these authorities gives any reason for the origin of these customs. I therefore suggest the following: The Egyptian king is typified by two creatures—the falcon and the bull; but it is quite clear, on studying the evidence, that he is more truly a falcon than a bull. In life the falcon is always represented above his name; at death he becomes a falcon and flies away to the heavens. From the earliest times he is essentially the falcon-man, and his god, the sun, is represented as a falcon with the sun disk on its head. The falcon Horus, *i.e.* the dynastic invader, entered Egypt and conquered the country, but his religion was always an exotic, belonging only to the king and not accepted by the people. Egypt was then, and remained to the last, a cattle-worshipping country. To make himself acceptable to his people, the king had to become a bull. This was accomplished by a special ceremony, and the outward and visible sign in the eyes of the people that the king was actually a bull was the bull's tail attached to his person. I see in this ceremony the origin of the Sed or Tail festival, which Prof. Petrie has already noted as being connected with the tail worn by the king. The animal does not appear to be either *Bos Africanus* or *Bos brachyceros*, the two commonest forms of domesticated cattle in Egypt, but it is, as Prof. Naville pointed out nearly thirty years ago (*Rec. des Trav.*, XXI, p. 118), a buffalo. The tuft or tassel of long hair at the end of a buffalo's tail is considerably longer than that on a bull's tail, and this will account for the extraordinary length of the long hair on the tail which the King wears. The two Hathor heads (Fig. 8) at the top of the palette, on both the obverse and reverse, show the growth of horns characteristic of the buffalo, which is different from that of the ordinary cow. These two heads dominate the scene on each side, yet on the obverse, which is the more important side, the King's "totem," the falcon, is larger than the Hathor, larger in proportion than the King himself, and is represented as carrying the North captive, whereas Hathor's rôle is passive.

Prof. Newberry has suggested that the Sed festival was also a marriage ceremony, and this is also possible, for there is a parallel in Crete. When the new bull-worship was introduced into that island, the queen, through whom the descent was transmitted, as in Egypt, was disguised as a cow for the celebration of the Sacred Marriage, and the offspring of that royal and divine marriage was the Minotaur, half bull, half human. The Egyptian ceremony, however, suggests that it was the king, not the queen, who was disguised in a bull- or buffalo-skin. If my suggestion is correct, we have, then, a ceremony by which a man of a Falcon tribe marries the queen of a Cattle tribe, and therefore becomes a member of his wife's clan, the sign of the change being the tail which he wears as king in religious ceremonies. As king he was the giver of fertility, and as a bull he gave fertility to the cattle-worshippers—hence the use of the bull's tail in the field ceremonies, just as thongs of the skin of the goat, the sacred animal of the primitive population, were used to promote fertility in Rome. The Sed festival then is, if my suggestions are correct, the ceremony of making the falcon-king into a bull at the time of marriage to the queen of the cattle-worshippers.

On the obverse side of the palette, the king wears, hanging from the belt, four heads of the goddess Hathor with long fringes. The fringes are clearly of beadwork. It is interesting to note that here, again, the cattle cult is important,



HIERAKONPOLIS. I, PL. XXIX.

KING NARMER IN TRIUMPH.

as these are the king's only ornament. On the reverse, there are no Hathor heads on the belt; there appear to be two fringes, which hang direct without any heading; it is, however, possible that the decoration on the front of the tunic may be a woven pattern and not beads. Some sort of ornament hangs from the belt in front, but its form is so indistinct as to make it uncertain what it represents; the lower part appears to be a falcon of the horizontal form, characteristic of the early Ist dynasty; the upper part is unrecognisable.

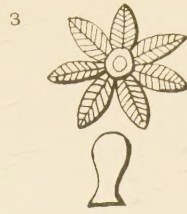
The crowns.—There has always been a considerable amount of speculation as to the material of which the crowns were made, but no indication has ever been found in any royal tomb. Even in the tomb of Tutankhamen, where the royal insignia were in profusion, neither crowns nor their imitations were found. It is evident, therefore, that they were not of metal or other material which could be fashioned once and for all. The conclusion then must be that they were head-dresses newly arranged every time when worn, like turbans.

The conventional shapes of the crowns were already fixed by the time of the Scorpion King and Narmer. The White Crown seems to have been made over a frame, possibly of lattice work or even a mere bundle of reeds, over which the cloth was smoothly folded; the folds are faintly visible behind the King's ear on the slate palette. The suggestion as to a turban is borne out by the representation of the White Crown of Mentuhetep III (Fig. 9, *Deir el Bahri: XIth-dynasty Temple*, II, Pls. IX, XII, XVIII), which has red horizontal bands, and diagonal lines indicating folds. It is possible that the shape was originally in imitation of a sheaf of corn. The form is imitated in the head-dresses of the women dancers in the tomb of Khnumhetep at Beni Hasan (Fig. 10, L.D. II, 126; B.H. I, Pl. XXIX), and the framework is seen in the two figures standing in a shrine in the funerary scenes in the tomb of Paheri (Fig. 11, Tylor, *Tomb of Paheri*, Pl. VIII). The outline of the White Crown is so like the outline of the *hkr* ornament, which again closely resembles the framework head-dress, that it seems likely that the *hkr* was originally the representation of a sheaf, which was the chief ornament of the king as giver of fertility. The form of the crown was completely conventionalised by the IIInd dynasty, as is seen in the head of Khasekhem (Fig. 12, *Hierakonpolis*, Pl. XXXIX, 5), which shows the method of fixing the head-dress round the ear.

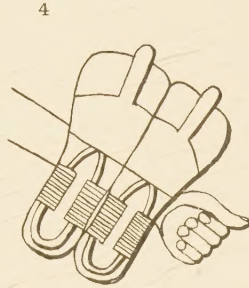
The crown of Lower Egypt is usually called the Red Crown, and occasionally, *i.e.* in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the Green Crown. The earliest example is on a potsherd of the Amratean (first prehistoric) period (Fig. 13, *Naqada*, Pl. LII, 75; *J.E.A.*, 1923, Pl. XX, 3). The slate palette of Narmer gives the only detailed example (Fig. 2). Here it is very clear that the head-dress is a turban of a very elaborate type. The turban itself is of the form now worn by the Marwaris of Rajputana, where it is usually pink in colour. The folds of Narmer's head-dress are very clearly marked. The spiral in the front appears to be a piece of tightly twisted linen, and if the form is correctly represented it must have been made over a wire or other stiff foundation to keep it in position. Prof. Petrie suggests that it is the conventionalised form of an ostrich feather. The raised portion at the back of the crown appears to be of beadwork, evidently an entirely separate construction, as is seen in the ivory statuette of Khufu (Fig. 14), where the stand for the beadwork erection is unmistakably represented. The literary evidence also points to the fact that this crown was a turban, for in the XIIth dynasty Hymn to the Crowns (Fig. 15), in the verses addressed to the Red Crown, occur the following expressions: "Numerous are the folds



HIERAKONPOLIS. I. PL. XXIX



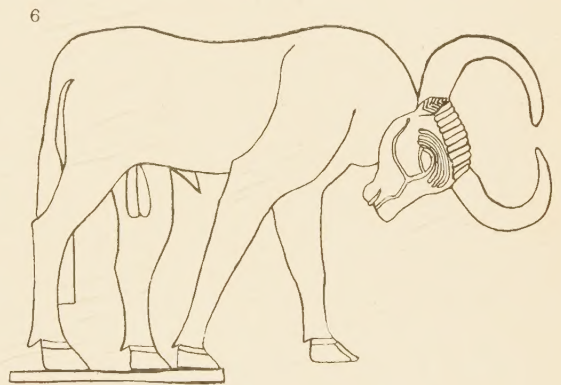
HIERAKONPOLIS
I PL. XXIX.



HIERAKONPOLIS I PL. XXIX.



HIERAKONPOLIS I PL. XXVI. c.



HIERAKONPOLIS I. PL. XXIX.



CAPART PRIMITIVE ART FIG. 170. P. 231



HIERAKONPOLIS. I. PL. XXIX.

which appear on the head of Sebek" (sect. b, l. 17), and "Its folds are on thy forehead" (sect. f, l. 1).

In the tomb of Tutankhamen, as I have already observed, no crowns were found, but in a casket were many rolls of linen. It would seem an extraordinary thing to preserve mere linen with as much care as the jewels, but if these rolls were the lengths of linen required for the royal turban their importance can be recognised.

It must also be noted that there is no uraeus on the royal crowns, either in the Ist or IInd dynasties. The earliest appearance of the uraeus seems to be on the diorite statue of Khafra; it is rare in the Old Kingdom, and does not come into common use till the Middle Kingdom.

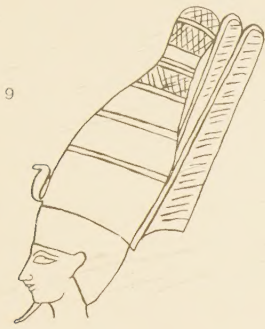
As far as literary evidence goes, besides the Hymn to the Crowns, there are two Middle Kingdom stelae which give some information (I am indebted to Dr. A. H. Gardiner for the reference). The  Semti, who was the possessor of both stelae, was, as his title implies, of high priestly rank. The *imī hnt* accompanied the Pharaoh in many religious ceremonies and is seen in attendance at the Sed festival (Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, Pls. III, VI, VII, VIII). Semti was "Divine servant of the South Crown and the North Crown, Creator-servant of the King's toilet, he who fashions (*mśś*) the Great One of Spells, he who bears (*twz*) the Green Crown" (Fig. 16). In the second stela (Fig. 17) he is "Over the secrets of the two Crowns, the two Great Ones of Spells." As Dr. Gardiner points out, the reduplication in *mśś* indicates a continuance of the action, *i.e.* the fashioning was performed not once but continually. This is confirmed by the title "Khnum-servant of the King's toilet," which shows that in the king's toilet a creative power was necessary. Both these titles show that the White Crown was a head-dress, presumably a turban, which had to be made every time it was worn. It is very certain that it could not be wound by the king on his own head—the height precludes the possibility—and to cover such an erection smoothly and correctly needed considerable skill. Semti "bore (*twz*) the Green Crown"; *twz*, being a trilateral root, does not reduplicate, but being parallel with *mśś* it must have the same meaning of continuance. The use of a different word shows that there was a difference in the making of the two head-dresses (the determinative of the Green Crown is clearly a scribal error). There is nothing to show whether the word applies to the whole head-dress, which would then be a turban, like many of the present day, which can be lifted on and off without being disarranged, or whether it applies to the fixing of the spiral and the beadwork after the turban was wound on the head. But in either case the arrangement required a skilled hand. It is evident, then, that the officer who was over the secrets of the king's toilet and was in charge of the making of the crowns, had no sinecure, and that the title was not an empty one.

If my suggestions as to the king's costume are correct, two facts emerge from this short study:—

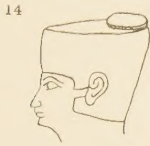
1. The dynastic invaders were not of the same religion or race as the indigenous Egyptians, but to make themselves legitimate and acceptable rulers they were adopted into the Bull-tribe by being invested ceremonially with the tail of the sacred animal, perhaps originally with the whole skin.

2. The provenance of the invaders is suggested by their royal head-dress. The turban was never worn in Pharaonic Egypt except by the king and by foreigners (Fig. 18); it appears to be indigenous to Asia, more especially to Persia and to northern India. The connections between Elam and prehistoric

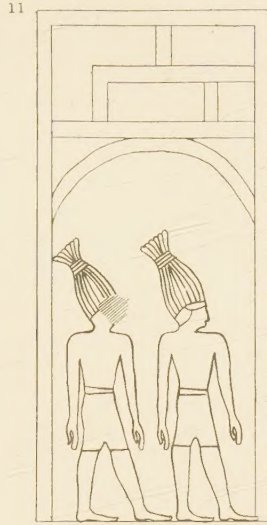
Egypt are already established. In view of the early connections which are now known to have existed between northern India and Sumeria, it is possible that there may have been a common centre which also influenced Egypt.



DEIR EL BAHERI XIth DYN. TEMPLE. II. PLS. 17, 19



ABYDOS II. PL. XIV.



TOMB OF PAHERI. PL. VIII

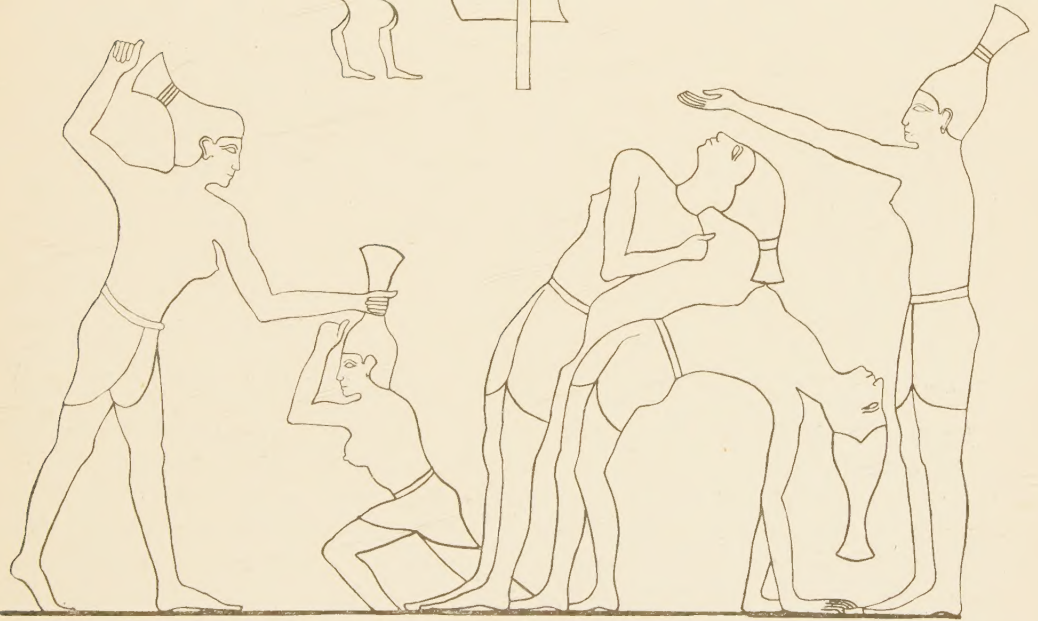
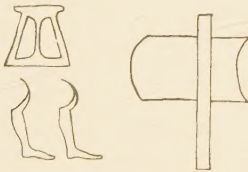


HIERAKONPOLIS
I. PL. XXXIX. 5



NAQADA. LII. 75.
JEA 1923. PL. XX. 3

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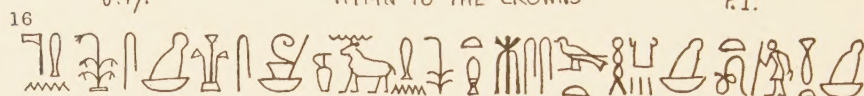
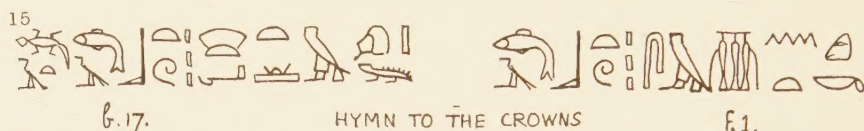


UD. II. 126.

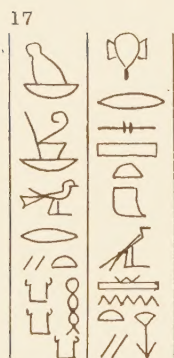
In the Pyramid Texts are several mentions of the Red Crown. Though these give no indication of the material or form of the crown, they are of importance as showing that it was in itself a deity. I quote three from the Unas Text:—

“The doors of the Horizon open, its bolts are withdrawn, and he comes to thee, O Neith; he comes to thee, O Flame (𓆎𓅓); he comes to thee, O Great One; he comes to thee, O Great One of Spells.” (W. 269, N. 719; Sethe, §194.)

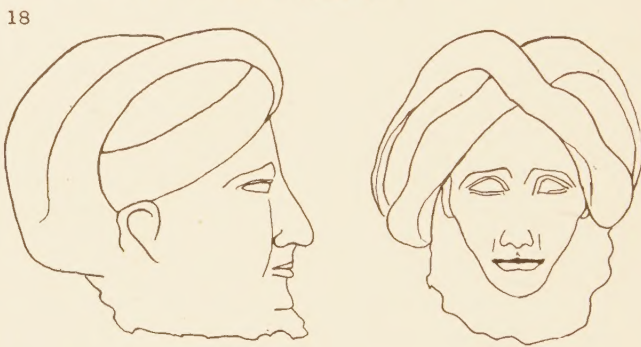
"Hail, Neith! Hail, 'In! Hail, Great One of Magic! Hail, Flame ()! Thou causest that the Terror of this Unas shall be like the Terror of thee. Thou causest that the Fear of this Unas shall be like the Fear of thee. Thou causest that the *ki-t* of this Unas shall be like the *ki-t* of thee. Thou causest that the Love of this Unas shall be like the Love of thee. Thou causest that his sceptre (*b₃*) shall be the leader (lit., in front) of the Living. Thou causest that his staff (*s₃hm*) shall be the leader (lit., in front) of the Horizon-people. Thou causest that his weapon () shall be strong against his enemies. Hail, 'In! Thou hast come forth from him, and he has come forth from thee. The *ih₃t-wrt* has fashioned thee, the *ih₃t-wtt* has ornamented thee; the *ih₃t-wtt* has fashioned thee, the *ih₃t-wrt* has ornamented thee." (W. 272; Sethe, §§ 196-8.)



STELA OF SEMTI. B.M. NO 574.



STELA OF SEMTI
B.M. NO 839



MEMPHIS II PL. XXXVIII. 73

"Unas has repeated his appearings in heaven, he is crowned ( ) as Lord of the horizon. He has cut to pieces the joints of the vertebrae, he has carried away the hearts of the Gods. He has eaten the Red Crown, he has devoured the Green One. Unas is nourished (*wšb*) with the lungs of the Wise Ones, he is satisfied by living on their hearts and magic. He who bears (supports) Unas, he swallows the fluids (lit., that which flows) which are in the Red Crown. Unas continually prospers when their magic is in his stomach." (W. 517, T. 328; Sethe, §§ 409-11.)

I have to thank Mr. Gerald Harding for making several of the facsimile drawings which accompany this article.

M. A. MURRAY.

THE ORIGINS OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

To understand the mythologic literature of Egypt it is needful to have regard to the many sources of population, each of which has in turn probably added to the heterogeneous mass of myths that is seen in the historic times. One great group of myths, known as the Pyramid Texts, is particularly the royal religion, identified with the line of kings in the Vth dynasty, and knows nothing of the geography of the Book of the Dead; as it contains much of remote savagery in its composition, it has clearly been brought in with ancient tribal traditions. On the other hand, the Book of the Dead is the popular mythology, cherished by the majority down to the end of paganism, yet containing much that is very primitive embedded in its structure. Until we obtain a firm outline of the various tribal movements and invasions of prehistoric times we cannot hope to analyse the confusion of the mythology. There is good hope that, by advancing the study of the varied civilisations side by side with that of the mythology, each may serve to elucidate the other.

The discovery of the Badarian civilisation has greatly changed our ideas of the early history. We are in the presence of an advanced culture, apparently imported, and decaying in Egypt. There is the probability that it came from Asia, and connections point to the Caucasus region. This is a very old idea, as Herodotus comments on the traditional connection of the Colchians with Egyptians, and states that in his time they were still alike in customs, way of living, and language. Now, in the Book of the Dead, as Prof. Fessenden has pointed out, a most striking peculiarity is the frequent mention of lakes of fire, not as places of horror, but in the midst of the paradise of cultivation, yet also associated with barren ground and high mountains. Such incongruous conditions are not often to be found; they cannot have been suggested by Egypt itself, but certainly belong to some distant region, and the nearest country with such features is the Caucasus, with its oil springs in the midst of the most fertile valley surrounded by barren mountains.

The suggestion that the Book of the Dead embodied traditions of the Caucasus region has been noted already in this journal (1924, p. 124). Such a possibility is so important, that it is worth close examination to see whether the evidence is systematic, or is only an accidental resemblance. There are some geographical indications to be gathered in these traditions, places being described as east or west, north or south, up or down stream. So long as the whole descriptions are referred to mere imaginations of a spiritual world, the details have been neglected. But if the possibility of a tradition being based on real localities is considered, then the descriptions should be carefully observed. During the present misfortunes in the region of the Caucasus, it is impossible to examine the early civilisations there; all that can be done is to take the evidence of names, so as to prepare the way for testing the conclusions on the actual ground at some future time.

The suitability of such a region for civilisation is attested by Strabo (XI, iv, 3); he describes Albania, the lower part of the valley of the Kur, as producing "every kind of fruit, even the most delicate, and every kind of plant and ever-green; . . . all that is excellent grows without sowing, and without ploughing . . . In many places the ground, which has been sowed once, produces two or three crops, the first of which is even fifty-fold, and that without a fallow . . . The whole plain is better watered than Babylon or Egypt, by rivers and streams, so that it always presents the appearance of herbage . . . The young trees bear fruit even in the second year, but the full grown yield so much that a large quantity of it is left on the branches. The cattle, both tame and wild, thrive well in this country. The men are distinguished for beauty of person and for size." In modern times, Maurier, in his *Guide au Caucase* (1894), mentions maize as the main crop, growing seven to ten feet high, and bearing eight hundred-fold. Flax has been an immemorial crop in Mingrelia. These descriptions accord with the fertile Egyptian paradise, with flowing streams and growing corn seven cubits high. The temperature in the winter is that of the south of England; in the summer it is like that of northern Lombardy.

In looking at the Egyptian traditions, the natural condition of a people who have emigrated must be taken into account. The Norse entering Britain planted the names of their gods in many places; they adopted these places as the new homes of their mythology. In modern times, emigrants use names from their old country in new conditions. In the United States there are two or three dozen of each of the names of our principal cities. The spoken form of a name may be commoner than the real form. There are seven Sandfords in England, only one in America, alongside of nineteen Sanfords there. Further, when migrating people are without writing they depend entirely on the spoken names, and when, in later time, the names begin to be written, it is natural for them to be expressed by rebus words, which have nothing to do with the sense, but only show the sound. An unlettered Englishman might address a letter to Livorno by drawing a leg and a horn. It is obvious that the Egyptian form of writing an imported name may appear quite Egyptian in its dress, and yet be a verbal representation of its original sound.

In order to test the possible connection of Egyptians with the Caucasus, all the geographical terms of direction associated with place-names must be noted; the names must then be searched for in the Caucasus in the same relative connection, as this greatly limits the range, and so gives further likelihood to such similarities of name as may pass this test. The results of this comparison are stated on the accompanying map; the names in capitals are those in the Book of the Dead, those in small type are the classical forms in Ptolemy's Geography, those in italics are the modern names.

One of the most important names is that of the kingdom of Osiris (ch. xviii, cxxvii) or Un-nefer (ch. xv), called AKRET or IKRET. This is closely like the Greek name of a region in the upper part of the main river, Ekretike, the modern *Kartlia*; see note on p. 45.

The "pillars of Shu" were prominent hills over which the sun rose (ch. cix of Nu), therefore somewhere east of the kingdom of AKRET. The gate ZESERT (=TOSORT, Gr.) is the gate of the pillars of Shu (ch. xvii), and therefore also east of AKRET; in that relation we see the district of Tosarene.

Near ZESERT lay the most fertile plain of the fields of AĀRU or IĀRU, and thus near Tosarene is the river *Iora* through the midst of Transcaucasia. This

river has others on either side of it which receive the mountain torrents, while it only drains a fertile plain free of violent changes. In a *Trip through the Eastern Caucasus*, 1889, the Hon. John (later Lord) Abercromby describes the level cultivated plains traversed by the Iora; again, a splendid open grassy space, with abundance of wood and water at an elevation of 3,600 feet above the sea, with the Iora, and beyond it more wooded hills. The blessed fields of the IARU yet had a lake of fire in them, and on the Iora is a great naphtha spring, marked N on this map.

The fields of IARU are described as behind, or "at the back of the head" of KĀRU (ch. xvii), and the waters of the Iora start from the mountain at the head of the *Kur* river. The description rather suggests looking at this region from the Colchis side.



From AKRET the Egyptian sailed down the river (ch. xv) to DADU or TATTU; so, descending from Ekretike, the region of Tot, Totene, is reached, half-way to the river mouth.

Further on, it is said, the eastern gate of heaven had on its south the lake of KHALUSA (Nu, ch. cix); so at the eastern end of the valley, on the south side, was Kholuata, now lake *Chalasi*.

We read that RESTAU is the DUAT region (ch. xvii)—they are identical. The DUAT had its north gate at ZESERT, Tosarene, and so lay south of that, and in the south-east is *Resht*, agreeing to the name of RESTAU.

To the north of the fields of IARU was the river REU (ch. cxlix); and at the north of the Caucasus is the great river Rha, the Volga.

BAKHAU is often named ; it was a great mountain upon which heaven rested, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles in size, which seems like a real estimate. It was at the east, " Mount Bakhaü of the rising sun " (ch. clxxii, Nebseni) ; the name seems connected with *beka*, " the dawn." *Baku* at the eastern end of the Caucasus range agrees with this position.

At the other end of the day was the land of sunset, TAMANU (ch. xv, D. 6, 12 ; E. 15). The western end of the Caucasus range is the *Taman* peninsula.

So far, we are dealing with places whose position is stated in relation to each other, and which therefore support each other in identification. Other places may less certainly be identified, by the names in a suitable position, but not directly connected one with another.

Homage is paid to the divinity of the stars in AUN or ON, which lay to the west (ch. lxxxv), and the god Annu in ANDES (ch. xv). The stars of the gods are specially the undying ones in the north, and looking north from Ekretike there is the city *Oni*, and the mountains of *Andish*. The " divine door of the city of BTA " may possibly be the city of Ptua near Totene.

ANRUDEF, " it does not increase," the barren region, had DUAT and RESTAU to the south of it (ch. xvii). It seems likely that it was the Caucasus mountain range.

There was a lake of fire in that region near the SHENY dwelling (ch. xvii) ; at the foot of the mountains in Sanua.

Not far from this is Mosega, and this might be MESQTO, which was a place of purification, probably by fire (ch. cxxii, clxxvi).

ASTES is reached after ANRUDEF (ch. cxlvi), probably the same as ASSET, which is said to be too remote to be seen (ch. cxlix). Both descriptions would agree to the northern place *Ashti*.

DESDES was the lake over which the sun set (ch. xv), and repeatedly it is claimed that this lake is at peace. The name is literally " the choppy " ; from the position, it would refer to the Black Sea, and the prevalent west wind would make it rough on the eastern coast.

MAOATI was a lake, of which the heads, or sources, were known (ch. xvii). It is singularly like the name of the lake of Maiotis, or *Sea of Azov*.

The FENKHU were a people who gave gifts, which were buried on the shore of the lake MAOATI (ch. cxxv), and they were therefore in its region. This suggests a possible link with Phanagoria at the mouth of Maiotis.

In chapter cx there are three lakes drawn, named URMU, QETQETMU, and HETPMU, or the " great," the " moving " and the " peaceful " lakes. The name URMU may be linked with *Urmia*, the large lake south of the Caucasus ; if so, the moving and quiet lakes might be lakes *Van* and *Sevan*.

This list accounts for most of the important names of places in the mythology of the Book of the Dead. Names, however, are very risky material on which to base conclusions ; no doubt almost any name may have one or more parallels somewhere in the world, yet here we are dealing with a single region, and the names fall into place in accord with the indications of direction one from another. It seems very improbable that in so limited a field, already indicated by the physical description, more than a dozen names should so closely correspond, without having a real connection.

If this localisation should be accepted, it will have much influence on our understanding of the early religion. We may begin to analyse the Book of the Dead into the Caucasian and Nilotic sections. Osiris, repeatedly named as

ruler of Akret, will thus be linked to the earliest stratum, and be of northern origin. Byblos may then have been an Osiris sanctuary during the migration through Syria. The strange mention of Sebek at Bakhu looks like some transference of Egyptian ideas. Possibly, the Zeus named by Strabo was Zeus Sabasios of Asia Minor, and so the name Sabas might have been transformed to Sebek on going to Egypt.

The mediaeval history of the kingdom of Akret or Ekretike may be here noted, from Telfer's *Crimea and Transcaucasia* (1876). The position of Ekretike is that of the modern Imeritia, which kingdom was formerly called Egris (ii, 30), from Egros, son of Thargamos (Togarmah). This Egros seems to be equivalent in another dialect to Karthlos, son of Thargamos (i, 172). From him is named Mount Karthlos and the rivulet Karthly (i, 162, 172). Evidently this district was the great kingdom of the country (*see* i, 176; ii, 33), with a long tradition of its early importance, which we can now perceive far back in the beginnings of civilisation.

In looking at a remote origin for the popular mythology of Egypt, we must remember the persistence of folk-tales and their long antiquity. They are cherished as religious literature even when of secular origin, such as the Tibetan sacred books, which are the racy and vivid stories of north Indian life during the Asoka period. When only transmitted by word of mouth, they can survive for thousands of years, like the Eskimo tales which are verbally the same on the Atlantic and Alaska, though the people rarely know anything more than a day's journey from their own centre. The maintenance of a detailed record of history goes back for many centuries in the African kingdoms, and the Polynesians (in spite of being so scattered) have kept in memory their migrations and colonising of New Zealand. There is, therefore, no improbability in place-names which have been embodied in mythology being preserved for very long periods.

It appears, then, that the cultural connections of the earliest Egyptians, as well as the physical descriptions in their mythology, point to the Caucasus region. When, further, we find there the names of the principal places of the mythology in their relative positions, it gives strong grounds for regarding that region as the homeland of the earliest civilisation of the Egyptians.

FLINDERS PETRIE.

WOMEN'S TITLES IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM.

IN the study of race identities, the evidence from the attitude of any race towards its women is not without value, and on this point the study of titles furnishes useful suggestions. Hence the following comparative study of women's titles in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. With regard to references to numbers, it is not suggested that all possible sources have been exhausted; but the amount of material gone over is sufficiently large to warrant a presumption that, should further instances be noticed, the relative frequency of the titles would not be materially altered.

In the Old Kingdom, the frequency of women's titles, especially religious ones, is remarkable; and no less remarkable is their comparative dearth in the Middle Kingdom..

In the Old Kingdom, women are of Hathor (M.I. XXIX), Neith (M.I. XXVIII), Anpu (L.D. II, 41b), Thoth (M.M.D. 5), and Upuaut (L.D. II, 87); also of Sneferu (A.S. III, 202), Khufu (M.M. B. 2), and Teti (M.M.D. 65). One is *hem neter* Neith Khenti Khafra (B.M.St. I, 6). Other religious titles are (M.C. 525), also and ; (M.A. I, 2), (M.C. 525), (B.M.St. I, 17), (M.S.M. I, vii), (M.A. I, 2), also (M.M. B. 3), (A.S. XV, 214).

Of these only two, the Hemneter Hathor and the Hnwt, survive into the Middle Kingdom, and the Hnwt is exceedingly rare. Nevertheless, there must have been a regular service with this title, for a Middle Kingdom stele (S.G.D. 20026) carries an invocation to various religious officials, including the . The only really common Middle Kingdom religious title is the Hemneter Hathor, and even this seems to occur only one quarter as frequently as in the Old Kingdom.

On the other hand, new religious titles make their first appearance in the Middle Kingdom. The invocation mentioned above cites a class of . In dynasty XII, the wife of Ameni and the wife and daughter of Khnumhetep are (B.H. I, xviii). Neith has no Hemneter, but in dynasties X or XI we find a (P.Sc. XI, T). There are several instances (undated) of the title MIN Ršwt, "Watcher of Min" (L.S. 28001), and one of a "Watcher of Bast, Horus and Min" (L.S. 28002).

The (SŠŠT), which becomes so common in the New Kingdom, is found on a few scarabs of dynasties XII and XIII (P.Sc. XV, B.R.). There is also a (P.Sc. XVI, F.). In dynasty XIII appears the first

(S.G. D. 20056). Specially interesting is the title $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$, which is usually associated with Aahmes Nefertari and her successors.

1	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	XII	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	PT II N 7 a)	36	undated	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	S.G.D. 20058
2				P.T. I II b)	37		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28008
3			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	NG 9 B	38	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	D.B.N. IXVII E
4			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	P.L.C. 13 c)	39		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	ib. I, XXI
	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	V. infra No. 26 et seq.			40		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	ib. I, XVIII
5	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	XIII		B.M.St. IV 24	41		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	ib. III, II
				P.K. 12-13	42		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	ib. I, XVIII D.
6	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	XIII	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	B.M.St. IV 27	43		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28025
7	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	XIII-XIV	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	S.G.D. 20056 f	44		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	B.M.St. III 32
8	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	XII	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	M.C. 619	45	undated	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	S.G.D. 20005 e)
9			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	M.C. 619	46		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	S.G.D. 20010. e)
10			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	M.C. 619	47		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	S.G.D. 20013 c)
11	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	XI	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	P.T.C. XXII	48		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28001
12		XII	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	B.M.St. II 6	49		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28002
13			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	B.M.St. II 42	50		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28006
14			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	B.M.St. II 44	51		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28008
15			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	B.H.I. xxxv	52		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28010
16			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	P.T.C. xxv. ii	53		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28013
17	XIII-XIV		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	M.C. 861	54		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28018
18			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	M.C. 861	55		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28026
19			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	M.C. 901	56	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.D. II. 149 f. f)
20			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	M.C. 932	57		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.K. 178 g)
21			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	M.C. 977	58		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	P.T. I II b)
22			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	M.C. 1041	59		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	NG. 9.B
23			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	M.C. 1496	60	XIII	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	P.Sc. XVIII 24 h)
24	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28006	61		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	P.Sc. XI X
25	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	XIII-XIV	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	M.C. 854	62		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	A.C.W. XIII d)
26	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	XI	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	D.B.N. I XXI	63		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	P.Sc. XVIII. 224 i)
27			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	ib. I XX	64	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	M.C. 550
28			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	ib. III II	65		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28011
29	XIII		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	B.M.St. IV 18 d)	66		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28015
30			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28002	67		$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28017
31			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28011	68	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	B.H. I XVIII
32			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28015				
33			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28017				
34			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28017				
35			$\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$	L.S. 28030				

a) QUEEN OF SENUSERT II

b) ? DAUGHTER OF SENUSERT II

c) QUEEN OF SEBEKHEMBAUF III

d) MOTHER OF SEBEKHETEP III

e) PROBABLY EARLY M. K.

f) MOTHER OF MENTUHETEP IV

g) QUEEN OF AMENEMHAT I

h) MOTHER OF NEFERHETEP I

i) MOTHER OF SEBEKHETEP IV

Quite unequivocal is the $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$, which occurs in association with Mentuhetep III on a fragment of a stele, thus carrying the title back to dynasty XI (B.M.St. VI, 29). The god's concubine would naturally appear

about the same time, but the only instance of the title seems to be who was priestess of Hathor and (L.S. 28006). This coffin has been referred to dynasty IX or X.*

69		XI		DB XI. I.XVII E	101		XII		G.I.L. fig. 68 ⁵⁾
70				ib. I. XVIII	102				S.B.A. XXVII 105
71				ib. I. XVIII	103				M.F.D. II 73
72				ib. I. XVIII.B	104				M.F.D. II 68
73		XIII		P.Sc. XII 12. 2. 36	105				M.F.D. I 56 ⁴⁾
74				M.F.D. I XIX 37	106				M.F.D. I 56 ⁴⁾
75				G.S. I 71 ^{K)}	107				M.F.D. I 69 ⁴⁾
75				M.F.D. II 71 ⁴⁾	108				M.F.D. I 62 ⁴⁾
75				M.A. II 46 ^{m)}	109				M.F.D. II 105 ^{v)}
76				M.F.D. II 101 ⁿ⁾	110		XIII		M.D. 104 ^{w)}
77				M.F.D. I 54 ^{o)}	111				M.D. 104 ^{p)}
78				N.G. 9.B	112				M.D. 104 ^{q)}
79			— (scarab)	M.F.D. I XX 48	113				Pz. M. VIII ^{x)}
80			— (")	M.F.D. I 60, 146	114				Pz. M. VIII ^{x)}
81			— (")	M.F.D. I 69, 15	115				M.D. 70 3. 4)
82	XII a XIII			P.Sc. XVIII	116				S.G.D. 20058 ^{y)}
83	XIII			P.Sc. XVIII	117				S.G.D. 20058 ^{y)}
84				P.Sc. XVIII	118				P.K. XII. 2 ^{z)}
85				M.D. 104	119	undated			L.S. 28104
86				Pz. M. VIII ^{p)}	120		XII		G.S. I XX 1. 71 ⁵⁾
87				M.D. 70 3. 9)	121				P.T. II XI 171 ^{m)}
88				S.B.A. 1903, 358 ^{A)} 1905. 102	122				A.S. VII. 48 ^{v)}
89				P.K. XII. 2	123				M.F.D. I. 77
90	XIII a XIV			P.Sc. XIX 14.A	124		undated		L.S. 28011
91				P.Sc. XI X	125				L.S. 28015
92		XII		P.T. I II ^{b)}	126				L.S. 28017
93				L.D. III. IV ^{o)}	127		XII		G.S. I. 71 ^{K)}
94	XII a XIII			P.Sc. XVIII 13. DB.	128				P.T. I II ⁵⁾
95				P.Sc. XVIII	129				P.T. II. XI 171 ^{m)}
96				P.Sc. XVIII	130				N.G. 9.B
97	XIII			P.Sc. XX 13. 27. 22	131				B.M. St. IV. 9
98				P.K. XII. 2					
99				P.L. II C. 13 ^{c)}					
100		XIII		A.Z. XXXVII 91. 96					

K) QUEEN OF SENSUERT I

l) QUEEN OF AMENEMHAT II

m) " " SENSUERT II

n) " " AMENEMHAT III

o) " " SENSUERT III

p) " " SEKHEMKARA

q) " " NEFERHETEP I

r) " " SEBEKHETEP IV

s) ? DAUGHTER OF SENSUERT I

t) A PRINCESS: C. AMENEMHAT II

u) DAUGHTER OF SENSUERT III

v) " " AMENEMHAT III

w) " " SEKHEMKARA

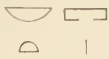
x) " " SEBEKHETEP III

y) " " NEFERHETEP I

z) " " SEBEKHETEP IV

The numerical incidence of all these titles is very small, leaving it to be inferred that the part played by women in the religious life of the Middle Kingdom was less than that in the Old Kingdom.

* Mace-Winlock, *Tomb of Senebtisi*, p. 114 sq.

Political and social titles are also few. In the vast majority of cases the lady is  only, or characterised by a mere epithet, MR RT. F. Nevertheless some of the old honourable titles survive, and yet new ones appear. The survivors are the  (nine instances in dynasty XII, three in dynasty XIII), the  (eight times) and, once, a  (see the list).

132		XII		M.F.D. I 54 ^{a)}
133	(cont)	—	—	M.F.D. IX 37 ^{b)}
134	(cont)			B.H. I XLVI
135				AS.VIII 46 ^{y)}
136		XIII		P.Sc. XVIII 204
137				P.L. II C. 13 ^{d)}
138		XIII-XIV		P.Sc. XIX
139		XII		B.H. I xxxii
			v. Supra. Noz. 64-67	
140		undated		L.S. 28001
141				L.S. 28006
142				L.S. 28010
143				L.S. 28011
144				L.S. 28017
145		undated		L.S. 28002.
146		XII		B.H. I xxxv
147		XI		DB XI. III. II
148		Invocation: undated		S.G.D. 20026
149		XII		B.H. I XVIII
150				B.H. I. XXXV
151				B.H. I. XXXV
152		XI		M.C. 548
153				M.C. 550
154				B.M. St III 32
155				DB XI. I. XVII
156				DB XI. I. XXI
157				DB XI. I. XX
158				DB XI. I. p. 49
159				DB XI. I. XVII. D.
160		XII		B.H. I XVIII
161				B.H. I. XXXII, XXXV
162				B.H. I. XXXVI
163				B.H. I. XXXVI
164				D.G. Ag. XIV, XV
165		XII		B.H. II. XXIX
166		XIII-XIV		M.C. 945
167		XIV	—	P.Sc. XX

x) QUEEN OF SENUSERT III
 β) ROYAL SCARAB T. SENUSERT III

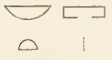
168		XII		P.T. II. XI. 171 ^{z)}
169		—	—	M.F.D. I 77
170		—	—	P.T. I. II 71
171		XI	—	B.M. St. VI. 29 ^{θ)}
172		XII		B.H. I XLVI
173				P.T. II. XI. 171 ^{z)}
174		—	—	M.F.D. I. 77
175		XIII		P.L. II. C. 13 ^{d)}
176		XII		P.T. II. XI. 171 ^{z)}
177		XII		P.T. II. XI. 171 ^{z)}
178		—	—	P.T. I. II 71
179		—	—	NG. 9. B
180		—	—	B.M. St. IV. 9 ^{ι)}
181				AS. VIII. 46 ^{y)}
182		Invocation: undated	v. Nt. z)	S.G.D. 20026
183		XII		B.H. I p. 36
184				B.H. I XII
185				B.H. I XXXV
186				B.H. I. XXXV
187				B.H. I. XXXV
188		XII		P.T. II. XI. 171 ^{z)}
189			ib.	ib.
190		XII		P.Sc. XV. BR
191		XII	Scarab —	P.Sc. XVI F
192		XII		B.H. XXXII

y) DAUGHTER OF AMENEMHAT III
 δ) QUEEN OF SEBEKEMSAUF III
 ε) 
 ζ) QUEEN OF SENUSERT II
 η) ? PRINCESS T. SENUSERT II
 θ) FRAGMENT OF A STELE BEARING THE NAME OF MENTUHETEP III
 ι) DAUGHTER OF SENUSERT III

Several new titles which appear suggest that the bearers held real political power. Tāt, the second wife of Khnumhetep, is  (B.H. I, xxxv). The Queen of Senusert II is  and  (P.T. II, xi, 171), and the last title is also borne by the wife of Khnumhetep II (B.H. I, xlvi).

Significant, however, is the comparative frequency of titles which express a personal or harem relationship to the king. The title  begins in dynasty IV, but quadruples its incidence in Middle Kingdom records as compared with those of the Old Kingdom, while  appears as a new title.  occurs in about the same proportion at both periods, but  is less common in the Middle Kingdom.

Titles descriptive of favourite are frequent at both epochs. These comprise the , ,  and , which seem to be applied only to princesses or close associates of the king. The  survives from the Old Kingdom, but in much diminished numbers.

Merely occupational epithets, such as , serving-maid, are here omitted, but the title  seems to stand apart from these, as signifying an honourable position in the family. It occurs with increasing frequency from dynasty XI to XIII, and the menats are depicted on the steles in the same position of honour as the daughters. Moreover, two of them have daughters who are  (S.G.D. 20018). Nor is the title an exclusively feminine one; on a stele of the time of Senusert II (B.M.St. II, 8) it is borne by a man and seems to have a religious significance, for he is "Menat of Horus of the Aha."

A list of these and other Middle Kingdom titles is appended. Two titles have been omitted from the list:—, because it occurs with such frequency that it would greatly outnumber all the rest put together, and , because it has been fully dealt with by Mr. Guy Brunton in *Lahun I*, Pl. XV and p. 21.

EDITH M. GUEST.

Abbreviations :—A.C.W., Ayrton, Currelly, Weigall, Abydos III. A.S., Annales du Service, Cairo. A.Z., Zeits. Aeg. Sprache. B.H., Newberry, Beni Hasan. B.M.St., British Museum Steles, Hall. D.B. XI, Naville, XIth-dynasty Temple. G.J.L., Gauthier-Jaquier, Lisht. G.S.I., Gardiner, Sinai Inscriptions. L.D., Lepsius, Denkmäler. L.K., Lepsius, Königsbuch. L.S., Lacau, Sarcophages, Cairo. M.A., Mariette, Abydos. M.C., Mariette, Cat. Gen. d'Abydos. M.D., Monuments Divers. M.F.D., De Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour. M.I., Murray, Index of Names. M.M., Mariette Mastabas. M.S.M., Murray Saqqara Mastabas. N.G., Naville, Goshen. P.K., Petrie, Koptos. P.L., Pierret, Louvre Inscr. P.S., Petrie, Season 1887. P.T., Petrie, Tanis. P.T.C., Petrie, Tombs of Courtiers. Pr.M., Prisse, Monuments. Rec., Recueil. S.B.A., Soc. Bibl. Arch. Proceedings. S.G.D., Schäfer, Grab und Denkstein, Cairo.

THE RELATIONS OF EGYPT TO ISRAEL AND JUDAH IN THE AGE OF ISAIAH.—I.

OUR first definite knowledge of political contact between Egypt and one of the Hebrew states in the period of Isaiah's activity is derived from 2 Kings, xvii, 4: "And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So [better 'Seve'] king of Egypt, and offered no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year."

This Seve is generally identified with Sibe, the tartan of Egypt, of whom we read in Assyrian inscriptions of the year 720 B.C. Two main views are held as to his identity. He is regarded by some as Piankhi's¹ commander, by others as an otherwise unknown Egyptian kinglet.² Thus Professor Peet writes: "The wisest course would seem to be to identify So, king of Egypt, with one of those numerous petty dynasts who ruled in the Egyptian Delta during the years which elapsed between Piankhi's conquest of Egypt and Shabaka's establishing himself on the Egyptian throne." This latter view is related to the conception formed of the dealings of the Ethiopians with Egypt. To estimate it properly we must take this into consideration. It is clearly and briefly stated by Professor Peet.³

"In the reign of . . . Osorkon III, Egypt was invaded by a certain Piankhi, king of the Ethiopian kingdom which had its capital at Napata, far up the Nile . . . After a victorious campaign in Egypt Piankhi withdrew to Napata as suddenly as he had come, and left Osorkon III ruling at Thebes, side by side with a number of other petty dynasts in the Delta . . . About 712 B.C. the Ethiopians again attacked Egypt and one of them, Shabaka, brother of Piankhi, assumed the throne as first ruler of the XXVth or Ethiopian dynasty."

It is possible to test these rival conceptions alike by the historical probabilities and by some testimony which is not generally used in this connection. The idea that Seve was a small dynast runs counter to several considerations which naturally suggest themselves. It is surely strange that Piankhi should have retreated without reason, if, as we know from the subsequent history, Ethiopia desired to establish herself permanently in Egypt. Why should she evacuate a country suddenly, merely to reconquer it a few years later? But if Seve was Piankhi's tartan we have a very good reason. In 720 B.C. there was a pitched battle at Raphia in which Sibe and his allies were heavily defeated. According to the Assyrian inscriptions "Sib'u fled alone like a shepherd whose sheep are stolen, and disappeared." That would mean that Piankhi's rule over Egypt came to an end as the result of the destruction of the forces commanded by Sibe, his viceroy or commander-in-chief in that country. This makes Ethiopia's course of action much more intelligible.

¹ E.g. Petrie, *History of Egypt*, III, 2nd. Ed., 1918, p. 283; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, 1st Ed., 1913, p. 471 f.; *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, 1925, pp. 274 ff. On the probability that the name is Ethiopian, see E. Möller, "König Sib'u," "סִבְיָה, der ägyptische Gegner Sargons," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXII, 1919, pp. 145 ff.

² E.g. Peet, *Egypt and the Old Testament*, 1st Ed., 1922, p. 173; A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, 1st Ed., 1923, p. 204.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

Other circumstances seem to favour this idea. When we read that after the defeat of "Sib'e, the tartan of Egypt," at Raphia, "Pir'u, king of Egypt," sent tribute to the Assyrians, the most likely inference is that, as the result of an Ethiopian defeat, Osorkon or some other Delta dynast promptly transferred his allegiance to the Assyrian king. The striking contrast between the clemency displayed to the Egyptians by Piankhi and the savage cruelty appearing in the story that Shabaka on the reconquest of Egypt burnt Bocchoris alive, suggests that the policy of showing mercy to the Egyptian kinglets had not been justified by results. From the Ethiopian point of view the probabilities are all in favour of the identification of Sibe with Piankhi's tartan.

Similar conclusions must be reached from the standpoints of Hebrew and Egyptian policy. If Hoshea sent for help in a struggle against the mightiest state of the day and obtained it, we may reasonably infer that his request was addressed to a potentate who would have the will and the ability to assist him.¹ "No foreign monarch would send to the king of a mere city or district for help in resisting the greatest power of the age; nor can we suppose that any local dynast either had sufficient troops for a war in Syria or could leave his territory denuded and at the mercy of his rivals while they were sent on a foreign campaign. Hoshea's Seve can only have been the authority that controlled the resources of a great power. There was none such in the valley of the Nile except Ethiopia."²

The designation of Sibe as king of Egypt in the Hebrew narrative and "tartan of Egypt" in the Assyrian inscriptions testifies to the same effect. Biblical Hebrew often refers to a high representative of a ruling monarch by the title "king," so that on this view no difficulty arises: but it is less easy to understand how an independent Egyptian dynast—if that was Sibe's real position—came to be the commander-in-chief of some other Egyptian dynast a few years later.

A difficult chapter of Isaiah's referring to the Ethiopians appears to me to throw some further light on the subject. Oracles of the Hebrew prophets foretelling events in the immediate future may be used with confidence as historical sources, for it was a recognised principle that a prophecy was only to be accepted as genuine if it was fulfilled (Deut. xviii, 21 f.). Naturally this could only apply to predictions of events that were to happen within a short space of time: but the principle is such obvious common sense that we cannot doubt that it was regularly enforced. Hence, when we find that an oracle relating to the course of the next few months has been handed down as genuine, we may feel sure that actual happenings were substantially in accord with its predictions.

Isaiah xviii runs as follows:—

"1. Ah, the land of the rustling of wings which is athwart the rivers of Ethiopia:

"2. that sendeth ambassadors by the sea and in vessels of papyrus upon the waters.

"Go, swift messengers, to a nation tall and smooth, to a people terrible from their beginning onward, a nation that meteth out and treadeth down, whose land the rivers divide!

¹ Cp. the contemptuous descriptions of the Egyptian king to whom the rebels of 713 appealed and of his people—"a prince who could not help them," "a people that cannot profit them, that are not a help nor profit, but a shame, and also a reproach."

² H. M. Wiener, *The Prophets of Israel in History and Criticism*, 1923, p. 33. Hall's present view (*Cambridge Ancient History*, III, p. 276, note) that the statement in Kings really refers to 720 B.C. is quite incompatible with its *tenour*.

- " 3. All ye inhabitants of the world, and ye dwellers on the earth, when an ensign is lifted up on the mountains, see ye ; and when the trumpet is blown, hear ye !
- " 4. For thus hath the Lord said unto me, I will be still and I will behold in my dwelling place ; like clear heat in sunshine, like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest.
- " 5. For afore the harvest, when the blossom is over, and the flower becometh a ripening grape, he shall cut off the sprigs with pruning hooks, and the spreading branches shall he take away, shall he cut down.
- " 6. They shall be left together unto the ravenous birds of the mountains, and to the beasts of the earth : and the ravenous birds shall summer upon them, and all the beasts of the earth shall winter upon them.
- " 7. At that time shall a present be brought unto the Lord of hosts of a people tall and smooth, and from a people terrible from their beginning onward ; a nation that meteth out and treadeth down, whose land the rivers divide, to the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, Mount Zion."

From this it appears that Ethiopian ambassadors had come to Jerusalem and were seeking to induce Judah to enter on a struggle as an ally of the Nile power. Isaiah puts the refusal and the future course of events very delicately, yet the declaration of Jewish neutrality is unmistakable: "I will be still and I will behold in my dwelling place." This people would not join in the war. And the declaration is couched in terms which forbid the assumption that the northern kingdom was still in existence and engaged in the contest. For the Lord was the God of Ephraim as well as of Judah, and had the former power been waging war Isaiah would not have said, "thus hath the Lord said unto me, I will be still." Now there was only one occasion on which a Nile power intervened in Palestine against Assyria before the end of the northern kingdom. That was when Hoshea rebelled against Assyria and entered on the struggle which led to the extinction of his state. Isaiah xviii obviously cannot refer to that period for the reason given. Hence it falls later.

It is to be observed that the prophet here foretells that a battle with very heavy casualties will be fought before the harvest, and we have seen that his anticipations must have been realised for the oracle to win acceptance. We have therefore to ask on what occasions during the period of Isaiah's activity there was a struggle between Assyria and Ethiopia in which Judah was neutral.¹

There is only one conjuncture that satisfies the conditions, viz., 720, in which the battle of Raphia was fought. This therefore fully confirms our former inference that the tartan of Egypt on that occasion was no other than Piankhi's commander.

This result has a bearing on the chronology of the period. If Seve was Piankhi's tartan, the Ethiopian descent into Egypt must antedate Hoshea's conspiracy, and it becomes impossible to refer the first Ethiopian conquest to so late a period as 720 B.C.²

HAROLD M. WIENER.

(*To be continued.*)

¹ Olmstead's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 297), that Hezekiah "had taken part with the enemies of Assyria in 720," appears to have been made by inadvertence. In his account of these events (p. 207) he speaks of the northern Judah (Iaudi), which, of course, had no connection with Hezekiah's kingdom.

² Reisner (*Harvard Theological Review*, XIII, 1920, p. 31) puts Piankhi's descent between 734 and 712 B.C.

JOURNALS.

Annales du Service des Antiquités. Tome XXV.

PILLET, M.—*Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak* (1924–5). The inundation was nearly a metre higher in the eastern side of Karnak than it was near the Nile, and it persisted longer. Evidently the flooding and much of the salt is due to an eastern flow.

The pedestals of the sphinxes on the western quay have been cleared; they are inscribed by Painezem, son of Paonkhy. The dangerous state of the foundations of columns led to a partial examination of the original paving, in the lower course of which were blocks of Akhenaten. It is estimated that there are 170,000 blocks, which may be of that king. Some monuments of Neitaqert have been found.

LEFEBVRE, G.—*Le grand prêtre d'Amon, Harmakhis*. Inscriptions of this high priest contain the names Tabakenamen, a queen, and Pyonkharty, a royal daughter and queen of Shabataka. This queen's name was also that of the queen of Tanutamen on the Dream stele, possibly the same person.

LEFEBVRE, G.—*Une version abrégée de la "Stele du Mariage."* This is an alabaster copy of the well-known Hittite marriage inscription of Ramessu II. The block was 13 feet high, now broken in three pieces. While in most parts a rather simpler version of the Abu Simbel stele, there are also connections to the Abu Simbel Ptah inscription and that of the princess of Bakhtan. The text is published here, with translation and commentary.

LEFEBVRE, G.—*Note*. This quotes a passage of Rekhmara about his steering the ship of state, and therefore agrees that a similar metaphor in the biographies of Roma and Bakenkhonsu also applies to this life. This was already suggested in the summary in this Journal (1925, p. 126).

LUCAS, A.—*Damage caused by salt at Karnak*. This difficulty is discussed from the chemical point of view. It is believed that the salt mainly comes from washing out lands further south. It is suggested to remove the salt from stone by applying damp cloths; the crust of damp sand, left to dry on, would be far more effective and easy to apply.

JÉQUIER, G.—*Fouilles exécutées en 1924-5 dans la partie meridionale de la nécropole Memphite*. The work was mainly on the avenue of the pyramid of Senusert III, and on the Mastabat Faraoun. The chapel of the latter was traced out, and is here planned: it is probably of Shepseskaf. The "rhomboidal pyramid," or double-slope pyramid of Dahshur, has been re-opened; the piled-up blocks in the great hall are found to cover only the rock cutting, and not to hide a chamber. The survey of it in *A Season in Egypt*, pp. 28–32, does not seem to be known.

BRUYÈRE, B.—*Stèles trouvées à Deir al Médineh*. These are not of historical interest; the names are Amenemant, Ahut, Pa-her-pedti dedicated to Shed, Hor-em-uaă, Baka, Penamen, Khoemuast, Neferhetep, Bay, Mentu-Min, Nebnefer, Roma, Sherat-ra, Ramessu VIII, Pasithoy, and Apuy. Some ear-steles like those at Memphis occur here. The connections with other steles of the *sedem osh* series in museums are noted.

WAINWRIGHT, G. A.—*Painted box from Kom Washim*. This oval wooden box, and the glass bottles with it, are closely like those in the group in *Hawara*, XIX.

WAINWRIGHT, G. A.—*Wooden door and stool from Kom Washim*. The door has narrow panels let into grooves, as in modern joinery. Pieces of similar work are at South Kensington. The stool has a massive turned block for the top, like one in University College, with the legs joined on by a hidden dovetail.

WAINWRIGHT, G. A.—*Turnery, etc., from Kom Washim and Gerzah*. These pieces are furniture legs of Roman age, like those in University College. The origin of turning is discussed, as being derived from the use of the bow drill. It should be added that, though the early stool legs are not turned, but hand-worked, yet the pattern is obviously copied from turned work in the XIXth dynasty. A small box (University College) is clearly turned, of the XVIIIth or XIXth dynasty, and the lid of it has intersecting circles of Syrian style. This suggests that Syrians turned, and Egyptians clumsily copied.

WAINWRIGHT, G. A.—*Hoard of Silver from Menshah*. This hoard from Ptolemais is dated to Nero by the coins. There were long square ingots of silver alloy, 6.3 inches by 0.4 by 0.4, containing half silver. The bracelets are (1) plain tubes with ends coiled round the stem to form a sliding joint; (2) plain, with ends not touching, lion-head terminals, and herring-bone hatching; (3) close spirals of wire with separate end caps to hold the wires; (4) spirals of twist of wires, to give greater elasticity for opening. Many references to jewellery, and a discussion of the new styles coming in from the west, may help future study. Note the only pearls found in Egypt, of Aah-hetep (p. 132).

WAINWRIGHT, G. A.—*A dagger of the early New Kingdom*. This is a comparison of the thirteen examples of daggers with inlaid handles from Egypt. They are Syrian in origin, the handle being also found in Assyria.

WAINWRIGHT, G. A.—*Antiquities from Middle Egypt and the Fayum*. A bronze two-spout lamp with loose lid, like one in University College. A little tablet from Lahun inscribed "Houses 4 of 30 × 20." Houses of this number of cubits were laid out in two of the streets of Kahun. Four-headed lazuli ram from Herakleopolite nome, and therefore of Hershefi. Small glass jug, with a whorl on the side of it, placed for stamping as a measure.

FIRTH, C. M.—*Excavations at the Step Pyramid, Saqqara, 1924-5*. The names of two princesses, Ant-ka-s and Hetep-her-nebti, occur on pieces of steles in the filling of foundations of the chapels, supposed to have been steles marking boundaries before the building. The serdab of the pyramid temple, though unroofed, contained the seated figure of Zeser, quite complete except for two slight flakes on the wig and some weathering of the face; it is astonishingly preserved considering the exposure. The flesh is yellow, hair black, cloak white; the inlaid eyes have gone.

Another shrine, on the north of the pyramid, had two porticoes of fluted columns. In the ruins were fragments of the beard of an alabaster statue. A dump-heap of ancient clearing of the pyramid passages contained an enormous number of fragments of vessels of diorite, breccia, slate, alabaster and white marble, with names of kings earlier than Zeser.

The history of the various tunnels cut in attacking the pyramid is traced out. It is concluded that the great central pit was filled with stone, which plunderers removed, and that they put in the beams of wood at the top to support the pyramid stones. This view involves difficulties, and, looking at the use of beams of wood in construction at Meydum, this woodwork might well be original.

A large building of the IIIrd dynasty was cleared, south-east of the Step Pyramid. This had a large courtyard with a row of small chapels along the

sides. Pieces of statues were found in the ruins. A building on a platform had slender fluted columns, with fluted pendants at the sides, and a block in the middle, rather suggesting unfinished Hathor heads and wigs. The long ridges of rubbish behind the Step pyramid are rubble structures, once faced with masonry, over long subterranean galleries in the rock.

LEFEBVRE, G.—*Une Table Eucharistique*. An oval slab of marble, 18 by 10½ inches, has incised on the top **VFIAINΩN ΦΑΓΕ ΚΥΡΙΚΟΝ**, in lettering of the IIIrd or IVth century. It has doubtless been the top of a small table used for the eucharist; the inscription is rendered "they that are whole eat the Lord's (Supper)" (see Luke v, 31). The size is far too small for a meal like the Agape. This was found at Tell Ebshan, near Tantah.

WAINWRIGHT, G. A.—*Three stelae from Naq ed Deir*. (1) Figures of three persons seated are named Priest Arnes, Priestess of Hathor Shemaât, and southern mayor Skhemsén; two dogs are before the last. (2) Two seated persons are the judge, conservator of waterways, southern mayor, Apa, and his wife Maut. (3) Standing figure of Nesi-Ra, called beloved by his father Senu; he was an official of Edfu, so the stele may have been brought from there, especially as the style of it is much ruder than the others.

ENGELBACH, R.—*On the size and orientation of the Great Pyramid*. This summary of the Survey paper by Mr. Cole describes the measurements taken from the lengths of casing now uncovered. The method, however, was hardly sufficient, as long-distance sighting along a weathered edge is too uncertain for carrying on the sides; it is to be hoped that a full hand-measurement on many points of the casing lengths will be made. Meanwhile the dimensions across the pyramid agree with the last survey in 1881 to about an inch.

BRUYÈRE, B.—*New details for insertion in the Theban 1/1000 scale maps*. These are of tombs, 335 of *sedem osh maot* Nekhtu Amen; 336 of *sedem osh* Neferrenpet; 337 of Qen; 338 of the sculptor of carvings of Amen, Moya; 339 of *sedem osh* Huy and Pashedu; 340 of Amenemhet.

GAUTHIER, H.—*Le roi Zadfré*. The position of this king, whose pyramid is at Abu Roash, is variously stated in lists, and a newly discovered tomb of Nesutpu places him before Khofra. There were evidently co-regents adopted by the long-lived pyramid kings, who died before them, as Khnumkhufu with Khufu, and Zedefra with Khofra, perhaps also Shepseshaf with Menkaura. This arrangement would render possible the recorded private lives overlapping so many reigns. Rhatoises is credited with 25 years in Manetho, but M. Gauthier quotes 8 years for Zedefra from some hitherto unrecognised piece of the Turin papyrus.

KUENTZ, C.—*La "Stèle du Mariage" de Ramsès II*. Two new copies are here published parallel with the first text at Abu Simbel. These new copies are at Elephantine quay, on four blocks of stone which give much of the text, and at Karnak on the south face of pylon IX. Thus it is evident that Ramessu II was proud of his new diplomatic connection. All of these copies are very imperfect, and hence the great value of several texts. Altogether out of 45 lines of text only 7 are partially in the three copies, 34 lines depend on two copies, and 4 lines at the end are lost from all copies. The differences between the copies are only such changes of arrangement as an engraver would feel were at his discretion, in order to avoid joints or to adjust the length of a line. The Abu Simbel copy is almost complete down to the 41st line; then there are 5 lines more or less broken in the other two copies. These latter lines describe the astonishment of foreign chiefs

in seeing Egyptians and Hittites peacefully mingled, and the reception of the princess with great presents without number, the pleasure of Ramessu, who loved her more than all, and who gave her the name of Maat-nefru-ra, "beholding the beauties of Ra." In discussing this name it is overlooked that in 1905 the meaning was pointed out, this name of the last hour of night being "Dawn," referring to the dawn of a new era of peace on the frontier, and the dawn of a new relationship of the royal houses.

DAVIES, N. DE G.—*New details for insertion in Theban maps.* These are the tombs of Nekht-Amen, wife Kamena; Tehutimes, mother Tabenert; Benaä, otherwise Pa-heqmen, father Artanena, mother Taruka; and Piaäy, wife Taurt.

GUNN, B.—*A sixth dynasty letter from Saqqara.* This letter was found with other waste papers in a room in the temenos of the Step Pyramid. It is dated in the 11th year, almost certainly of Pepy II, by the other papers. The writer is an intendant of the soldiers, who was directed by the Vezier to bring the battalion employed at Turra to receive clothing. He is in an out-of-the-way place, where the post only comes by the stone barge. When he was six days at the Residency with the soldiers no clothing was supplied, and now it will spoil work for a whole day to go up for the clothes. So he replies thus by the post (on the stone barge). This shows a business-like determination to push on the work, and not to have it stopped by official mismanagement.

EDGAR, C. C.—*Engraved designs on a silver vase from Tell Basta.* This vase was part of the treasure found in 1906, and could not be completely published till it was cleaned. It is engraved with two bands of figures. Above, are desert scenes of six groups of wild animals, separated by plants of a composite form more like a bouquet. The circles of dots round a central spot are strongly foreign, and suggest a Syrian artist. The lower band has the familiar papyrus skiff with farm produce, and scenes of fishing and fowling. The treatment of these bands is so different that it suggests two artists being employed. Round the shoulder is a prayer "May thy *ka* be with thee in life and welfare, making thee great of years, for the *ka* of the royal letter warden Tem-em-ta-neb, in peace," and a variant on the opposite side. The owner is standing in adoration before an unknown goddess, probably foreign.

WAINWRIGHT, G. A.—*Statue of Horus, son of Kharu.* The figure, made of yellowish quartzite, is kneeling, holding a shrine of Osiris. He was in the foreign service, and the name, son of the "Syrian," is significant. His mother was Mer-en-Neith atf-s ("beloved of Neith is her father"), whose good name was Nefer-ab-ra in Thebes. This dates it to the close of the XXVIth dynasty.

Académie des Inscriptions. Comptes Rendus, 1925.

JÉQUIER, G.—*Le mastabat-el-Faraoun.* The casing of this was of granite below, and of fine limestone above. The only inscription of importance was a relief from a tomb of the XIIth dynasty, naming a worship of Shepseskaf; this had been re-used in the paving of the funerary chapel, apparently, therefore, in a late restoration. Fragments of the throne of the royal statue have the end of a cartouche, with  and part of a  over it; this would agree with either Shepseskaf or Userkaf. The difference of the form of this tomb from the pyramids gives rise to some pages of speculation on the religion. If, however, Shepseskaf was a co-regent of Menkaura, that would be a sufficient cause for his not being granted a pyramid, seeing the difficulty that Menkaura had in completing his own equipment.

KUENTZ, Ch.—*Une nouvelle édition du "Poème de Pentaur."* This rhapsody of Ramessu II is best known by the name of Pentaur, who was merely the scribe of one copy. Parts of eight copies have now been identified, and a complete edition of the variants is in prospect. One copy mentions places on the way to Qedesh, including the "Valley of the *ash* tree" known in the tale of Anpu and Bata. Dussaud adds that the position indicated is that of the Eleutheros valley.

NAVILLE, Ed.—*L'or bon d'Égypte.* Gold coins with the figure of a galloping horse and *nub nefer* have been rarely known until a find of 38 examples at Kom Aziziyeh, near Memphis, six years ago. These were nearly all between 129·0 and 131·0 grains, or the usual daric. One roughly cut square piece is of 137·5 grains, as if the *qedet* was the original standard. Three different dies were used for the three coins figured, so the issue must have been considerable. M. Chassinat would date these between 404 and 342 B.C. As Greek mercenaries, for whom a gold coinage would be wanted, were mostly employed under Zeher (Teos) 360 B.C., this is the most likely date of issue.

Revue Égyptologique. Vol. II, fasc. 3-4, 1924.

GAUTHIER, H.—*Un groupe Ptolémaïque d'Héliopolis.* This is of "black stone" 6 inches high, on an alabaster base, representing Hapi-em-heb and his wife Onkhes-ne-Ast seated together. There are nine priestly titles of the father and of his son Pa-shed-amher, and three others of the wife, all referring to Atmu and to Heliopolis.

SOTTAS, H.—*Notes de philologie égyptienne.* These are on the auxiliary *uāh*; the name Nehem-es-Ah, here rendered "saved by Aāh," the moon; a passage in Westcar 8/17; the name of the Fayum.

WEILL, R.—*La "Kite" d'or de Byblos.* This describes a piece of bent sheet gold with a section of pattern on it, apparently cut from some object. It weighs 9 grammes, and as this is about the *qedet* weight, it is proposed that this was a weight. It is suggested that it was part of a uniform bar, cut up in lengths for giving a unit of value. The writer does not notice that if this idea holds good, the pattern is not made to agree to the *qedet*, but a unit of pattern would be 1/10th short of that, or just about the Babylonian shekel. It seems doubtful, however, if any unit of weight was intended.

MORET, A.—*Maspero et les fouilles dans la Vallée des Rois.* This address was the opening of the course of Egyptology at the Collège de France, which was suspended at the death of Maspero. It describes the various stages of excavation at the tombs of the kings for a century past.

LEXA, F.—*Les ornements poétiques du langage dans les monuments littéraires des Égyptiens anciens.* This paper collects examples of nineteen different forms of rhetorical expression.

JOUGUET, P.—*Une lettre de l'empereur Claude aux Alexandrins.* An account of the letter published by the British Museum.

In the *Notices* is a short biography of the lamented Turaiev, who died "of inanition," in the Russian capital; also a notice of Chvostov the papyrologist, who, after being "without books, without paper, without ink, isolated from the whole world," has now perished. Truly "the Russian savants disappear, exterminated by famine."

In *Comptes rendus bibliographiques* are reviews of six works on demotic and Greek papyri, mostly on Oxyrhynchos.

Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne. Tom. I, fasc. 1-2, 1925. (The new successor of the *Recueil* and *Revue Égyptologique*.)

BÉNÉDITE, G.—*Une petite tête royale en pâte de verre.* This head in a plain wig, about three inches high, is of pale violet glass for the face and dark violet for the hair. It has a gracious but weak face, of the latter part of the XVIIIth dynasty, which is here compared with Tut-onkh-amen. It is a pleasing piece of art which suits the character of the Louvre collection.

BOREUX, C.—*Un bas-relief au nom d'une princesse royale de la IV^e dynastie.* This slab was found in 1902 by Mr. Ballard, excavating in a tomb close to the pyramid of Khafra; it passed through some collections into that of Mr. Curtis. Unfortunately this was a dealing excavation and nothing seems to have been published about it. The royal connection of Nefert-abt is therefore unknown, but probably she was a daughter of Khafra. It is the usual type of false-door panel, with careful colouring.

DRIOTON, E.—*Un mot nouveau copte.* On an ostrakon occurs a word ⲉⲧⲁⲣ ⲛ the name of a garment or piece of cloth.

MORET, A.—*La campagne de Sêti I^{er} au nord du Carmel.* The excavations of Bethshean by Mr. Fisher for Philadelphia have produced two steles of Sety I, one of Ramessu II, and a seated figure of the latter. The first stele names the Sati, Retennu, Aamu, Aperu and Tuir(sha?). The second stele records a campaign in the Ist year of Sety to recover Palestine. This began by occupying Kharu from Zaru at the frontier to Pa-kanaan, as recorded at Karnak. Next was the recovery of the upper Retennu, from the north of Carmel to the sources of the Jordan; on the coast Akka, Tyre, Simyra, and inland Yenoam, Hamat, Rahubu, Pahira, Bethshean, as on the new stele. Lastly, the triumphal return, as figured at Karnak. In the Retennu campaign news came that the people had gathered in Hamath and united with those of Pahira (Fahil) to take Bethshean, and besieged the chief of Rahubu. Sety sent separate corps to Hamath, Bethshean, and Yenoam, and occupied them all. The various lists are collated which refer to these places. Hamath is on the Sea of Tiberias; Rahubu, or Rehob, between that and Carmel; Bethshean is known; Pahira is Fahil, south-east of the latter; Yenoam is inland from Tyre.

NAVILLE, E.—*La plante magique de Noferatum.* This is a discussion of a figure of the plant on a block from Horbeyt, representing the root also. It is a lotus, as named in various texts. The personality and nature of Neferatum is largely dealt with, also the *mehti* Horus in a barque, referring to the dual Horus and Set at Antaeopolis.

WEILL, R.—*L'unité de valeur* $\frac{\text{Q}}{\text{w}}$ $\frac{1}{\text{w}}$, *Shat*. After referring to the examples of super units, such as 2 qedet, 2 nub, 5 qedet, and others, the shat is studied, and it is concluded to have been a money of account, a term of valuation. Its equivalent is shewn to be 12 shat = 1 deben of gold. The papyrus of accounts (Bulaq, II) is transcribed and translated, showing how everything was reckoned in shat. The shat being 12 to the deben must have been between 115 and 127 grains of gold in weight, and its identity with the shekel is pointed out. Curiously, no notice is taken of the Aramaic שש *shet*, six, or sixth, which points to a tenth of the manah as the original unit. This sexagesimal system strongly enforces the shekel origin of the shat. In short, for business the Egyptian kept his accounts in Babylonian shekels, from the Old Kingdom onwards. Some important values of goods in gold are stated; remembering that the shat was closely equal to

our sovereign, the ox or cow cost 8 shat, or 6 shat; a goat or the leg of an ox, $\frac{1}{2}$ shat; $\frac{5}{6}$ of a pint of honey cost $\frac{1}{2}$ qedet, about 12 shillings. Thus, while meat was only $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{6}$ of our price, honey was eight times as dear as now. The relative values of gold and silver were 2 : 1 in Hyksos times, or 20 : 11 in the XVIIIth dynasty. The values of gold and copper are very divergent—48 : 1 or 240 : 1.

GUÉRAUD, O.—*Un nouveau papyrus de l'Odyssée*. This contains a part of book ix, 212–end, and x, 1–96, but with large gaps. As this is written in the good round hand of about 225 B.C. it is authoritative. There does not appear to be any large departure from the usual text; but the marginal numeration suggests omissions of lines in the missing parts. Each hundred lines of a book was numbered and a tick placed against each tenth line. Yet there is no mark at the beginning of book x. There seem to be traces of two types of text, one of which the copyist knew by heart and corrected by a written text.

CHASSINAT, E.—*La Princesse Noubemtekh*. Besides the vase in Turin named by M. Gauthier, there is a similar vase in the Louvre and a steatite plaque. See the *Catalogue de la Salle Historique*, Nos. 391, 643.

Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1920–1924. The more important papers are issued every few years, and this last series contains some material touching on Egypt. M. Chr. Blinkensberg discusses *Le pays natal du fer*, carefully excluding native and meteoric iron. The inscriptions are quoted naming Zeus of Doliche in Commagene as the source of iron. This was an old Hittite town, and the Zeus was the successor of Teshub the thunder god. A clay tablet from Boghazkeui has a copy of Khattushil's letter, replying to Ramessu II asking for iron, and saying that he had no stock, but had ordered some to be made, and meanwhile sent a dagger as a present to Egypt. This seems to show that about 1250 B.C. the Hittites were occasionally making iron for special uses. This would agree well with the traditional origin among the Chalybes, whence *chalybs* steel. Strangely it is remarked that the origin of the Greek word *sidēros* is unknown, it is not Greek nor Semitic, but may be Hittite. It seems probably from *sidus* a star, hence *sidereus*, and *siderites* magnetite, because looked on as meteoric iron. That the word *sidus* is Latin, points to the Greeks having got the term for iron through Illyria in contact with the iron mines of Noricum.

A long and important paper by Prof. Sophus Müller deals with *Communautés stylistiques en Europe dans le récent âge de la pierre*. It describes the various localities of the black pottery with bands of pricked lines filled with white, like the rare prehistoric Egyptian and the Hyksos flasks. This style is traced from the Persian Gulf and the Sudan to the Atlantic, the North Sea and central Siberia. "The earliest type appears clearly in South Italy and Sicily," with the angular forms to the east, and the spiral to the west of the Mediterranean. This indicates then a wide trade when we find fine spiral examples on the blackware of the XIIth dynasty (Kahun, Bernasht). Zigzag lines of dots belong to South Germany. The incised points and spirals are referred to south of Silesia, Balkans, and down to Thessaly; also found in southern Italy. The Maltese and Egyptian examples are not mentioned. The zigzag bands are widely spread from Portugal to Crete, and, we may add, occasionally in Egypt. The spiral line alone is quoted from Gerzean Egypt and Crete. The cord pattern is widely diffused, and it is so natural to impress a cord that it may have been re-invented a hundred times. This study, though valuable for Europe, would need long research in Asia to enable any certain conclusions to be reached about origins.

REVIEWS.

Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1926.

January. A headless basalt statue of Senusert I has lately been presented, and is described and figured by Dr. Lythgoe. It is of fine work, 41 inches high, seated on the usual cubical throne. As the king is "beloved by Horus, lord of Nubyt," it seems that it must have come from Ombos, where Horus was worshipped along with Set; if so, this is a very rare example of the early work there, which was blotted out by the Ptolemaic temple.

February. A fine figure in grey granite of Rahetep, a Vth dynasty official, seated on the ground, has been presented, and is figured and described by Mr. Lansing. This leads to a discussion of the fate of a great untouched serdab, found by Mariette's workmen, which contained nineteen statues, said to be arranged in a circle. The chamber, however, is only 4 feet wide, so obviously the statues must have been along the sides. Of these statues, fifteen are in the Cairo Museum, probably four were stolen, one is at Athens, and the figure described was bought long ago from a private collection in Cairo, and seems to have been the finest of all. Two others are still missing.

March. In consequence of the Director-General of Antiquities in Cairo requiring an illegal form of contract for excavations, the New York workers have ceased excavating in 1924-6, and have concentrated on completion of surveys and records. The tomb of Neferu, a queen of the XIth dynasty, has been cleared out, and the original entrance to it cleared behind Hatshepsut's portico. When the builders of the portico closed the tomb entrance, a narrow side entrance was made for visitors, and many *graffiti* of the XVIIIth dynasty are found on the tomb walls. This shows a careful attention to providing for ancient tourists. A perfect example has been found of the surreptitious figures of Senmut adoring, which he placed behind the doors of the chapels at Deir el Bahri. The balustrade of the stairway of Deir el Bahri, leading up the axis, has been found and restored at the lower ends. Foundation deposit pits there have been cleared. A large number of coffins of the XXIst dynasty belonging to the family of the Priest-kings have been cleared up and studied. Some objects and scenes from the papyri of these burials are illustrated here.

At Lisht the pyramid of Senusert I has been measured, as 200 cubits in the side, and the plan is published. Mr. Davies has been rescuing what is possible of the traces of inscription of Rehmara, and copying various foreign groups from tombs of the veziers.

Die Bewaffnung des Altägyptischen Heeres. By WALTHER WOLF. 8vo. 108 pp., 22 pls. 1926. (Hinrichs, Leipzig.) 8M.

This work gives a very complete study of the actual usage of weapons, as well as the museum specimens and the drawings that remain. It appears to include almost all that can be produced on the subject at present, but not fresh explanations. The plates supply photographs of the weapons in Berlin, which are welcome. In the text are 71 figures, which are well chosen, and always in place with the explanations. A complete list of sources of the illustrations, and bibliography, add to the value. Altogether it is worth more than various pretentious volumes issued at many times this price. In addition might be noted, on p. 34, that the Syrian axes are cast in closed moulds, and far better designed than the Egyptian; on p. 56, add a sling of about the XXIInd dynasty at University College (*Tools*, LI); the strange form of club on p. 79 seems unexplained—is the crook at the side a finger guard? Lastly, on p. 98, the quantity of scale armour in the *Palace of Apries*, XVI, needs notice. On Tafel 14, No. 1 is like weapons datable to about the Xth dynasty in Egypt, made both of bronze and iron, and probably of Syrian origin; these will appear in the volume on Qau. We hope the author will issue more of such comprehensive and practical studies in other subjects.

Egyptian Religion and Ethics. By F. W. READ. Sm. 8vo. 152 pp., 6 pls. 1925. (Watts.)

The largest section of this book is occupied with the service of the dead, and ethics only occupy a brief chapter at the end. The treatment of the mythology gives a fair outline of some of the principal gods, but does not enter into much detail. The section on the dead only deals with the views of the after-life, in the Pyramid Texts and Book of the Dead. Of the repudiation of sins it is said that "there is no principle to be traced in the order," whereas the sins are classified in groups of five for finger mnemonics. No notice is taken of the essential purpose of the Book of the Dead as a popular ritual, and the Pyramid Texts as a royal ritual. The *nesut-da-hetep* formula is not referred to the chief's property in all land, whereby it could not be alienated without royal permission. The god also gave the endowments, because such were devoted in the first place to the god to prevent alienation, and the dead fed at the altar of the god, as stated on a heart scarab. Though there does not seem to be any fresh view stated in this volume, it gives a handy summary of various matters fairly up to date.

NOTES AND NEWS.

A REMARKABLE stele in Turin has not yet been brought into the Akhenaten debates. It is figured in LANZONE, *Diz. Mit.* CXXXIX, and described in LANZONE, *Cat. Turin*, p. 155. It represents two supreme goddesses, seated facing, named Aritnefert and Neferiyaita. It seems obvious that these are Aohmes Nefertari—so often worshipped—and Nefertytai. Yet the former is called Lady of heaven, mistress (*hent*) of both lands; and the latter is Lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods. Each has what Lanzone calls a modius on the head, and the uraeus on the front of the wig. Below these deified queens are a man and wife kneeling, and a son and daughter. The dress of the kneelers is not Amarniote, and hardly before Heremheb, probably XIXth dynasty. The names Pendua or Qen, Tair or Tari, Huy and Tant-nub, are not necessarily later than the end of the XVIIIth, but might be early in the XIXth. There is no doubt that this stele is Theban, as the man was *sedem osh en ast maot*.

How much does this imply? The adoration of Nefertytai at Thebes, and calling her the mistress of all the gods, is impossible during Atenism, and seems clearly to point to her siding entirely with the Theban party of polytheism. The period of the stele should be defined by a detailed comparison with dated dress and names, but it seems to be about Sety I. If so, Nefertytai must have been worshipped as a main mover in the break-up of Atenism and restoration of polytheism. This would agree with Mr. Davies' suggestion of the queen rebelling and going to Thebes. Here Nefertari, being the heiress who united the kingdom, is adored as mistress of both lands, and Nefertytai is adored as the mistress of all the gods by restoring their worship.

This use of the word *hent* (mistress) suggests that it has the sense of *hen*, "to guard"; the guardian of both lands, or of the gods, would be a reasonable title. The other *hen* words, as applied to a bowl, a horn of cattle, or a spear, could also be given from the sense of guarding.

Five great scholars have passed away lately. In England we have lost Bernard Grenfell, after a long, sad, eclipse owing to his health. One of the most active and zealous workers, he became the leading authority on the Greek papyri which he discovered. Beginning by study at Koptos in 1894, he was for many years the main spring of the great flow of documents from the Fayum, which have re-inspired classical studies, and with which his name will always be linked.

Valdemar Schmidt of Copenhagen was a familiar and welcome friend in England, with a long record of work, both in the East and in his own land. Though nearly ninety, he had continued his visits here until last summer.

Georges Bénédict had long presided in the Egyptian section of the Louvre, and was the principal authority in succession to Maspero.

Signor Casanova was well known in Arabic studies, and his catalogue of Arabic glass weights is a familiar work of reference.

Aaron Ember, professor at Baltimore, has perished, with his family, in a terrible fire. His work on Semitic and Egyptian languages has been mostly lost.

At Gizeh the royal tomb proves to be that of Hetep-hers, who was royal mother, wife, and daughter, according to the gold hieroglyphs of inlay which have been found. It is presumed that she was mother of Khufu, but whether Shaaru or Sneferu comes into the previous generation is not yet seen. The clearance of the small chamber is extremely tedious, owing to the decay of organic material and the layers of minute pieces that have to be recorded and photographed in position. Dr. Reisner has been assisted in this by various students. The objects are of surpassing delicacy of detail.

At Thebes a temple of Akhenaten has been found, with statues of the new art, and therefore maintained at the same time as Amarna.

Mr. Mond's party at Thebes have found two chambers piled up with coffins of priestesses of Amen, about thirty-five in number. As these date from the XVIIIth dynasty, they will be of more interest than the priestly burials hitherto known.

The withdrawal of the great offer of endowment of archaeology in Egypt by Mr. Rockefeller is a sad loss to science. As the Egyptians have caused this by their objections, it is now incumbent on them to provide two millions for the housing of their treasures—found by other people—and to find a staff of experts of their own nation to administer such a department. It is futile to refuse help if the work cannot be done otherwise.

The catalogue of *Weights and Measures* at University College is now ready, and can be obtained there from the Secretary of the British School.

The Annual Exhibition will be held, July 5th to 24th, at University College, hours 10 to 5, and evenings of the 14th and 23rd at 6.30 to 8.30. The discoveries of Miss Caton-Thompson in the Fayum, of Mr. Sandford from the Nile gravels, and of Mr. Mackay from Bahrein, will all be new materials of much importance for early archaeology.